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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their priscan home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circum-
[177] stances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may
● [648] have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 912, Washington, 1907.

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they forced their way through the country occupied by the Winnebago, war would not have occurred.

The Winnebago call themselves *Hotcangara*, which has been variously interpreted as "people of the parent speech" by James Owen Dorsey and as "big fish people" by other observers. Dorsey's explanation, which is the one most generally accepted, is most certainly wrong, and represents an interpretation read into the word to make it fit the legends which claimed that the dialect was the most archaic of all the Siouan languages. It is true that *ho* may mean "speech," but *teunk* can only mean one thing, and that is "big, real." It is found with a number of animal names, such as *hetcunk*, "turtle," and *conktcunk*, "wolf." It corresponds strictly to the Dakotan *tank*, "large." *Ho* means "fish" in Winnebago. The name Winnebago, as is well known, is of Algonquian origin.

The Winnebago were first encountered by white men in 1634, when Jean Nicolet visited them as agent for Governor Champlain. Where he encountered them is not definitely known. The Winnebago as a rule claim that it was at Green Bay. Some discussion has arisen of late years on this question. No contemporary narrative of the event exists, nor have the Winnebago any clearly marked legend that might be interpreted as referring to it.

An excellent description of their history has been given by P. V. Lawson[1] and from this we will quote at some length, selecting those periods that are of greatest importance in the history of the tribe and which can be illustrated by semihistorical legends still known to the Winnebago.

Much of our knowledge of the early history of the Winnebago is derived from Baqueville de la Potherie's Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale. A good deal of his information was obtained from Nicholas Perrot. For the period covering the years 1640–1660 we have the following information:[2]

> A few years ago, they numbered possibly 180 warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling; they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well-built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food.

[1] The Winnebago tribe, in Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 6, no. 3, Milwaukee, 1907.
[2] Quoted in Lawson's paper, p. 93.

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175 Perrot also gives an account of the relentless war waged against them:

[839 266 648] This nation was a populous one, very redoubtable and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny.

Lawson goes on to say:

175 648 So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone hatchets and knives," they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy; and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribe they were finally forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to 1,500.

[669 162 164 731] "Despite all these misfortunes, they sent a party of 500 warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose."

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty Island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "50 of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude;" but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bowstrings were [24] cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh."

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying," and "took refuge on an island, which has since been swept away by ice flaws." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois, finding that their people did not return, investigated the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois."

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhominis' village, but severely wounded by arrows."

He [Perrot] again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago

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of possibly the year 1660. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for 50 years before La Potherie published his history Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago by the Illinois:

"About 30 years ago all the people of this nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow."

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation," as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "If this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years." . . . Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Doctor Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mentioned in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the shores of the bay . . . but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the river of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)."

Charlevoix . . . adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

"They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish."[1]

The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot obtained them, as can be learned from the following versions obtained in 1910.

a. When the Winnebago first originated, they were holy and clever. They were equal to the spirits. In those days there lived a Winnebago who could fly like a bird, one who could fly as far as four days' journey from the village. There was another Winnebago who could scent anything as far away as four days' journey from the village. Then there was one man who could talk with the trees. They told him many things. Finally there was one who could transform himself into a buffalo. On account of these four men, it was

[1] Op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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173 them to make it rain. Then, after the rain had fallen, they wrung out their blankets and drank the water.

All this time the men of the tribe were being killed off. After a while they began to kill the male children too. Whenever they saw a child they raised up its dress and if it was a male child, they killed it. However, there was a young mother who had a boy, and fearing that if the enemy discovered him they would kill him, she tied a string to the end of the child's penis and pulled the string back under its legs so that the child was given the appearance of a girl. From this woman and her child all the pure blood Winnebago living to-day are descended.

The war against the Winnebago was ended by a young Winnebago chief painting himself blue and surrendering himself to the other tribes.

175 The most important events of Winnebago history during the
●648 eighteenth century were the various alliances into which they were drawn with and against the Fox Indians in the wars that the French waged against this brave tribe. The Winnebago at first allied themselves with the Fox, but afterwards joined the French. This alliance was destined to bring upon them a great disaster. Lawson describes this period in their history as follows:[1]

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729 word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa, and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed 100 Fox warriors and 70 women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. . . . Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed 300 women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730.

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends, the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), and repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns, and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Dendo Island in the Fox River, adjoining their former location on Doty Island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty Island waterside of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities, the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee

[1] Op. cit., pp. 91-92.

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who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Capt. Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort."

For a more detailed account of the same events see Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. XVII, 88–100. The Winnebago have preserved a clear recollection of these stirring events in the semi-historical tale known as *Tcap'o'sgaga*.

THE TALE OF TCAP'O'SGAGA[9]

In the early days of their existence the Winnebago were a successful people. They all fasted and were blessed by the spirits. It is for that reason that they were powerful and were called *Hotcągara*.

At one time a Fox Indian, whose nation was about to be destroyed by its enemies, came to these much-feared Winnebago and said, "Brothers, I have come to you for aid."

The Winnebago lived on one side of the lake[9] and the Fox on the other and (because of the appeal) the former made friends of the latter, it is said, and the chiefs presented the pipe to one another. When chiefs exchange pipes with one another a very sacred bond is established. Thus many Winnebago and Foxes became friends, and Winnebago men married Fox women and Fox men married Winnebago women.

There was once a very famous warrior among the Winnebago whose crops were molested by the Foxes. *Tcap'o'sgaga's wife*[10] thereupon said to him, "Why don't you take them (the marauders) to task!" Then *Tcap'o'sgaga* went to the Foxes and said, "Boys, all the watermelons are yours when they are ripe, if you desire to eat them." "All right," they answered.

On the morning after the second night *Tcap'o'sgaga's* wife woke up very early and went out to inspect the crops. Again they had been disturbed, so she immediately went back exclaiming, "How terrible: The largest and best of *Tcap'o'sgaga's* crops have been

[9] This has also been published by me with the accompanying Winnebago text in the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, 1914, pp. 193–207, Madison, 1915.

[9] Probably at the junction of the Fox River with Lake Winnebago.

[10] This name means White-Crest.

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648 damaged. Indeed, you (*Teap'o'egaga*) should have forbidden them." Then *Teap'o'egaga* went over and forbad them.

Early in the morning after the third night the old woman again woke up and went to inspect the crops. Again they had damaged almost everything. "The nicest of *Teap'o'egaga's* crops they have destroyed. He should have forbidden them. Why indeed did you not forbid it? They have utterly destroyed your crops." Then *Teap'o'egaga* got up and said, "I will go and forbid them." So he went over to the Foxes and said, "Leave my crops alone, I told you. Instead of that you have destroyed them. If again to-night you dare do this, as I am a man who thinks (of revenge), beware. Dare do it again (and take the consequences)," he said.

One of the wicked ones among the Foxes who was doing this said, "O pshaw: He acts as though he were the only man (i. e., great warrior) in creation."

The next morning *Teap'o'egaga* himself got up early and went to inspect his crops, and indeed they had been utterly destroyed. What had been left (from previous depredations) had now been utterly ruined, and even the vines had been torn up. *Teap'o'egaga* felt grieved and said, "Have my attendants go and call my war-bundle bearer."[11] They went and called him and when he (and others) had arrived (they asked), "What are we to do?" *Teap'o'egaga* said, "Put on the food." Then they prepared the food.[12] When the food had been cooked they went to invite as the feasters the most important (of the people). When the feasters finished, then he said, "I am going on the warpath. At the end of the path I see my enemy. I am going to have the pleasure of killing the ten men that my grandfathers (the spirits), who are in control of war, obtained for me. For ten chiefs I am going."

Near the door he indicated what would be the first stopping place. Then he placed the war-bundle across the entrance and jumped over it.[13] Then he put the war-bundle on his back and walked toward his boat, his attendants accompanying him. They had hardly pushed off when they were greeted by a "Here! here!" Then they saw a very long boat filled with chiefs, all of whom were dressed in their best finery; their faces painted blue and medals around their necks.[14] They (the Winnebago) permitted the boat to pass and then when it was exactly alongside of them, they shot the occupants and tipped the boat over. Soon after, a strong wind arose and all the people in the village started out to give chase (to the enemy).[15]

[11] The youths who carry the war-bundle on the warpath. They are generally the nephews of the war leaders.

[12] For the war-bundle or winter feast which is always given before a war party starts.

[13] It was always customary for the leader to do this.

[14] The boat contained the Fox chiefs who had come to make reparation for the damage inflicted upon *Teap'o'egaga's* crops.

[15] I. e., started on a tribal warpath.

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The Foxes in their village said, "Say, I believe the chiefs have been killed. This is a time of war. *Teap'o'sgaga* has been angered. When *Teap'o'sgaga* gets very angry he generally does what he threatens." Then the bad Foxes said, "Perhaps they are eating the objects we donated".[a]

"The Foxes will not be coming back for some time" (the Winnebago said). (The Foxes) at the same time had gathered together and discussed the fate of the chiefs who had gone to give themselves up (to the Winnebago) and had never returned. "Very likely they are not alive any more," they said.

Teap'o'sgaga returned to the Winnebago village after he killed (the chiefs) and then started for the smaller of the two villages in which the Foxes lived. It was at the smaller village that the lake was narrowest. Toward this one he was going, he said.

He had again planned a war-party. All those within the village who were likely to show any skill in killing men prepared themselves for (attacking) the smaller village. They started at dawn, and they reached the smaller village at night and ferried themselves across. By dawn all had crossed and the village was surrounded. As soon as it was broad daylight they gave the war-whoop in four different places. Then they rushed on to the small village and destroyed it completely. Then they burned up the houses and went home.

When they got home everyone was happy. They danced the victory dance and at night they had the *Hok'ire're* dance. So happy were the Winnebago.

Although they thought they had killed all in the smaller village, one young girl who was lying on top of a small cliff, near where they crossed, fasting, had not been killed. Now the Foxes were living also in a large village right across the lake from the Winnebago. To this place the young woman who had not been killed went, and when she got to the big Fox village she told them the news, namely, "The Winnebago have completely destroyed us, I believe. Some of them (the enemy) I partially recognized. Go and see, however, whether they were Winnebago, for (if it was they) the lodges will be found burned to the ground, that being their custom when they go on a war-path."

Then the older Foxes went and when they returned, spies announced, "Yes, they were Winnebago, for the lodges have been burned down. It is true that the chiefs who had gone to make peace have been killed." Then the Foxes went into mourning for them. "There are many of the Winnebago and we will not be able to fight them," said the Foxes. Indeed the Foxes were afraid. Although a Fox disliked a Winnebago not one could he kill.

[a] I. e., the chiefs who went to make peace.

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173 All the Foxes went into mourning.

648 Ten Winnebago youths proud of their tattoos had been out (in the woods) before these troubles began. As they were returning they said to the one who was their leader, "Let us go around the large village and court women." "Only if you go around the small village will you escape unharmed," said the leader. "We will go by the large village even if all of us are killed by the spirits," they said. "Well, let us go by way of the small village," the war leader said to them. "If you are afraid, as you say, you may go alone by way of the smaller village; we, however, will go by the way of the large village." The leader, however, refused and also went by way of the large village. That they would die, he knew very well, but nevertheless he accompanied them to the edge of the big village. When they got there (they said), "Let us paint ourselves."

Then they painted themselves, and as they were painting themselves an old man in deep mourning appeared and said, "Are you returning from your travels? Stay with us, for our men are giving a feast. I will tell them to come after you."

Then he went away and soon a young man came (and said), "You are invited. Come right along." "Men, you have seen that all are in mourning. Once more, let me tell you something. In the feast in which you are now to take part, do not lend your knives to anyone. Hold your knife ready," he told them. "All right," said they.

Then they entered the lodge and when all were in they (the Foxes) made room for them and they sat down. Then the host arose and spoke and pointed to a place that was nearest him, for the leader. Then toward another place he pointed for the second and thus each one (Winnebago) received a seat. With each Winnebago were placed several Foxes, making eight in all.

[534] Then the host spoke, "As I rise, I will blow upon my flute and have a song started. I am anxious to have them start a song," he said. Then he rose and blew his flute and as soon as the song was started the Winnebago were seized. It was a long time before they could seize the war leader, but the others had lent their knives and were consequently seized easily. The war leader killed many, but finally his knife broke and he was seized. Then they bound him and prepared the torture. Ten posts they stuck in the ground. Then the war leader said, "I told you of this, but you doubted me. Here we are going to die."

Then the youths came after them and they began torturing them. They applied firebrands to them. They burnt them in those places where they would suffer most. Then the war leader said, "Well, my boys, we are now courting women."

Thus they burned them to death and destroyed them utterly.

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The Foxes now offered tobacco to many different tribes, giving them beautifully decorated pipes. They desired to annihilate the Winnebago. All the different peoples liked this because they hated the Winnebago. They made their plans carefully, but even then they could not defeat (the Winnebago) in battle. They (the Winnebago) always kept on moving back as the others tried to overcome them. The Winnebago were driven into the water. They crossed to an island, taking with them the women and children. Here they lived in lodges and ate the crops as they stayed there. All summer they were besieged on this island, as the enemy hoped to destroy them.

One night a man wearing a black skin robe inside out, said, "This they are going to do to you, we heard. So far only the fleetest have come. Soon the slower ones will come, peeling basswood bark as they go along with which to bind the people. If some are still alive we can then take them home bound."

Teap'o'sgaga felt sad and said, "He will die, the one who said that." Then he shot at him and tumbled him down. The one who had said this was sitting on top of a tree.

One day (the Foxes) said, "Turn over to us those Menominee who have married into your tribe. We are longing for some Menominee soup. If you give these (men) to us we will let up on you." The two Menominee among the Winnebago were great warriors and it was for them that (the Foxes) were asking. These Menominee talked to one another and the one who spoke first said, "It is a hard thing to be a son-in-law in a tribe not your own, my father used to say to me. Whenever the members of the tribe are in difficulties and they wish to save themselves, they turn (their attention to the strangers among them)." "Thus it is" (said the other), "but they may sacrifice me." "My friend, I feel the same way about it just as my father told me. I spoke to you because I thought that you might dread it."

Then the Winnebago gave the Menominee away, but the Foxes did not let up on them.

After a while the Menominee came to the aid of the Winnebago, but the Foxes said, "Wait a little; let us speak to you first." The Menominee listened and the Foxes told them, "The Winnebago are not to be pitied. There are two Menominee who had married among them and they handed them over to us. In this way we again drank Menominee soup. For this reason am I speaking to you. You may help them now, if you wish to, now that I have told you."

The Menominee had come to help the Winnebago, but now that the two Menominee had been handed over to the Foxes they turned back.

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173 *Trap'o'agaga* had been offered tobacco. "Well," he said, "I will
●48 try it." At night he started out and jumped into the water. Across there were enemies, so he turned himself into a goose. In the middle of the lake, a lone goose suddenly squawked. Those across shouted, "*Trap'o'agaga* is over there." "Yes," was the answer. Then he went around the shallow water and crossed over, and as he sat there bathing some one went by. They said to him, "Are you cooling yourself off with water?" "Yes," he answered.

Then he got himself ready and went to the French and when he arrived among them he said, "Father, different tribes banded together are trying to destroy us." "My child, go home, for I will come to-morrow."

When *Trap'o'agaga* returned he went around the other tribes. He went across the island. When he was home he said to the Winnebago, "Our father is going to come." All therefore expected that their father would come. Soon after the French ship came in sight. The other tribes went toward the boat as it came in sight. The Winnebago saw them go toward it. The Winnebago were frightened as they saw the other people go toward the boat, thinking that the French might take part against them.

Then the other tribes spoke to the French. "Father, you know very well that the Winnebago are bad people. Just as a big dog jumps on to a small dog and would like to kill it, so the Winnebago used to do to us. Let us therefore reduce them to ashes." The Frenchman agreed with them and said, "You have spoken the truth and I will help you. I will let you go on (if you wish) but the result will be simply that you will reduce everything to ashes. This is what will happen if you continue. You know that the Winnebago gets very resourceful when he starves. That is his nature and therefore I will take him home with me and fatten him up for you. But you must do what I now tell you. From whatever different places you come, go back to them. If you don't do it, as long as I live, never will I sell any ammunition to you. If you do not let up on the Winnebago, I will give them ammunition and lend them my own men." "All right," said they.

Then they scattered and the women and children were taken into the boat. The men who could walk fast, walked. As soon as he had brought them back near the fort he gave them food with which to sustain themselves. When they were strong enough he bade them flee and gave them good guns and as much food as they could carry in their boats. Coffee, sugar, bread, and all kinds of food he provided for them and he said, "Children, as you're about to flee (remember this). Never hunt fish with a spear. You might thus let a fish escape and if it dies later on and (the enemy) hook a dead fish and inspect it, they will say, 'This fish was speared and got away

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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that 's why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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173 Then he married her. He lived there and worked for the Indians
● 648 and stayed with them for many years and he taught them the use of many tools. He went home every once in a while and his wife went with him, but he always came back again. After a while a son was born to him and then another. When the boys were somewhat grown up he decided to take his oldest son with him to his country and bring him up in such a way that he would not be in danger, as was the case here in the woods. The Indians consented to it and they agreed that the mother was to bring up the youngest child.

So he took his oldest boy home with him and when he got home he went to live with his parents, as he had not been married in his own country. He was a leader of men. The boy was with him all the time and everyone took a great liking to him. People would come to see him and bring him presents. They gave him many toys. However, in spite of all, he got homesick and he would cry every night until he fell asleep. He cried all the time and would not eat. After a while the people thought it best to bring him back to his home, as they were afraid that he would get sick and die. Before long they brought him back. The father said: "My sons are men and they can remain here and grow up among you. You are to bring them up in your own way and they are to live just as you do."

The Indians made them fast. One morning the oldest one got up very early and did not go out fasting. His older uncle, seeing him try to eat some corn, took it away from him and, taking a piece of charcoal, mashed it, rubbed it over his face, and threw him out of doors. He went out into the wilderness and hid himself in a secret place. Afterwards the people searched for him everywhere, but they could not find him. Then the people told the uncle that he had done wrong in throwing the boy out. The latter was sorry, but there was nothing to be done any more. In reality the uncle was afraid of the boy's father. They looked everywhere but could not find him.

After a full month the boy came home and brought with him a circle of wood (i. e., a drum). He told the people that this is what he had received in a dream, and that it was not to be used in war; that it was something with which to obtain life. He said that if a feast was made to it, this feast would be one to Earthmaker, as Earthmaker had blessed him and told him to put his life in the service of the Winnebago.

From this man they received many benefits. He was called to take the foremost part in everything. They called him the Frenchman, his younger brother being called *Trip'o'sgap*, White-throat. And as they said, so it has always been. A person with French blood has always been the chief. Only they could accomplish anything among the whites. At the present time there is no clan as numerous

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian contact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him:

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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172 short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. . . .

Club-shaped linears are frequently found . . . . and kidney-shaped linears are not wanting. . . .

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end. . . . This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a rounded, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms . . . give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats.

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar combinations and composite mounds which do not admit of any rational explanation.[1]

Many explanations have been given by investigators and, for that matter, by Indians themselves, of the significance of these linear mounds. Not only is it necessary to account for the peculiar and manifold shapes, but for the equally strange combinations into which they have entered. With regard to the latter type, Mr. Stout refuses even to suggest an interpretation. He, however, takes a determined stand with regard to the linear mounds proper and interprets them as having been constructed for the purpose of symbolizing inanimate things, and consequently as really conventionalized effigies. This seems to him the only satisfactory explanation. "It is evident," he says, "that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled."[2] He admits the existence of linear mounds extending westward into Minnesota and Manitoba, far beyond the limits of the effigy type, but he does not believe it necessary either to regard these latter as effigies or to change his interpretation of the significance of the former. Mr. Stout's interpretation is indeed a purely arbitrary one. Whereas his identification of the effigy mounds was based upon information obtained directly from some Winnebago Indians, that of the linear is based upon what he thought was the necessity of the case.

Inquiries made among the Winnebago of Wisconsin by the writer brought out the fact that the Indians were unanimous in claiming their forefathers as the authors of the mounds, but they were not at all unanimous as to their significance. By far the largest number of individuals, however, insisted that these linears were defensive works behind which they dodged during battle. These must not be confused with anything in the nature of breastworks or fortifications. The Indians claimed that these mounds ought to be found in great [648] numbers along Lake Koshkonong, because it was there that a terrific struggle had once been waged by the Winnebago against one of

[1] Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, no. 1, Jan., 1911, pp. 32-33.
[2] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

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their hereditary enemies. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Stout, in the small area of 31 square miles around the lake, no less than 481 linear mounds have been found, and, if we take into consideration the fact that but 50 miles to the northwest, in the Sauk County area, 734 were found, we have within a radius of 231 square miles an enormous number of linear mounds. Whether, however, this has anything to do with the statements of the Indians mentioned above is very doubtful. When the writer called the Indians' attention to the fact that structures that were so low could hardly serve as an adequate protection against arrows they retorted by saying that the Indians did not stand up when attacked but lay stretched on the ground behind the mounds. [172 248]

The same two areas that yielded such a large number of linear mounds were also rich in effigy and conical mounds, containing 225 of the former and 646 of the latter. The conclusion is thus forced upon us that we have here the seat of a large number of Winnebago settlements. The linear mounds may therefore be said to be characteristic features of certain villages. A similarly large number of linear mounds seems to exist in Crawford County, according to the investigations of Lapham. It is possible that a continuation of thorough and systematic studies like those made by Mr. Stout in Sauk County and Lake Koshkonong will bring to light many such linear mound areas closely associated with village sites. [361]

With regard to the Winnebago interpretation given above it might be said that we know of numerous battles that occurred both along Lake Koshkonong and the Mississippi, and that it would require no manipulation of the facts to accept the Indians' explanation. It might, nevertheless, justifiably be asked why these peculiar shapes? They can hardly have had any importance in warfare.

As opposed to the view advanced above, various interpretations have been given at different times. Peet regarded the linear mounds as game drives, but this explanation seems to have been quite arbitrary. At least we know of no facts that were brought forth in its defense.

Although the interpretation that we were here dealing with defensive structures was by far the most common, two other explanations were obtained, one to the effect that the linear mounds were the bases of lodges and the other that some, at least, were snake effigies. It is impossible to say anything about the latter contention, although there may be more in it than is suspected. The other explanation, even though they had a special name for the projections that are often found at one end of the linears (*natci*, or wood houses), must be accepted with caution. The enormous length of some of the linears hardly seems to support such an assump-

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224 825 or hear the noise and run away. For this reason the hunters are very careful about these two things—namely, the number of bears shot and the direction of the wind. The method of hunting bears when the acorns fall and they come to the open or cleared spaces is known as the *hiruci'e* method. When the bears eat acorns then only is it easy to find them and kill them without much effort.

224 [721 648] *Description of a buffalo hunt.*—Whenever the Winnebago went buffalo hunting, they always went in large numbers, for the people used to say that on a buffalo hunt, they are likely to encounter their enemies and a fight might take place. It is even said that some people went purposely for the fighting. They generally went together with the *Homaxna* (Missouri ?), Waxetcera, Iowa, and *Wodpikdjedjera*, the Oto. Many women accompanied them. It is said that they could always tell where the buffalo were by the dust they encountered, for the dust raised by the trampling of the buffalo rose high in the air. They would always start out for the buffalo early in the morning on fast horses and try to ride up along the right side of the female buffalo, for they only killed the bulls afterward. They shot the buffalo with bow and arrows. When riding horseback, the bow is always drawn back with the right hand. The reason they try to kill the female buffalo first is because they always run away while the bulls do not.

While hunting the buffalo they were always bound to meet some of their enemies and a fight would ensue, so that when they returned, they would bring back not only [727] buffalo but also scalps, and immediately after their return the Victory Dance would be celebrated.

224 721 A different account of a buffalo hunt was obtained from another informant (J. H.):[4]

[342] Whenever we go on a buffalo hunt we camp in a circle, with the soldiers in front. They always carried long poles to be used in the construction of tipis. [This statement was made by a number of persons whose information was generally accurate. As [237 372] they were bound for the open prairie where there was a scarcity of wood, buffalo manure was always carried for fuel.]

As soon as the chief decided to go on a hunt he gave a feast [war feast] to which he invited everyone. This was generally in June. As soon as the feast was over a hunting council was held. Then the chief appointed public criers who went around the [203] village announcing the time for starting, etc. Then all went to the lodge of the chief of the Bear clan. There the ten best warriors were selected, who were to go ahead of the main body and reconnoiter for both buffalo and enemies. These started immediately and if they returned with the news that they had found many buffalo and enemy at the same time, fights frequently took place. Ten warriors always went ahead and the old warriors generally stayed in the rear behind the women in order to protect them better. As soon as they came to the place where the buffalo were seen they followed their trail and killed them. The flesh was cut up into large chunks, which were afterwards dried on the grass. Then when they had enough they all returned home, observing, of course, the same order of march as when they started. When they reached their home they gave another war feast at which all thanked the spirits for their successful return.

223 [762] *Pigeon hunt.*—The pigeons are "chief"[5] birds and they would be hunted whenever the chief decided to give the chief feast. The entire tribe was always invited to participate in the meal served, so that many pigeons were needed. The pigeons generally make their nests near human habitations. Sometimes there would be 20

[4] As his grandfather was a Dakota, J. H. may have confused in his account Dakota customs with those of the Winnebago. Apart from this consideration, it should be said that J. H. was an exceedingly unreliable informant.

[825 214] [5] They are called "chief" birds because the pigeon belongs to the same division as does the Thunderbird, or Chief, clan.

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so.

Tales Concerning Midjistega

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta.

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 789 796 726 791 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 555 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the person to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega*'s drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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Then Mid-
648 *jistega* said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it,
789 give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no
791 need of your proving it: I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that. *Midjistega* also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winne-
791 bago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

LINCOLN'S GRANDFATHER

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [164]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

159 648 177 794

I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

794 177 796

The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

794 796 276 177

The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

554 ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply
506 seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the
582 Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

625 It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

431 In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and
624 by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

[171] If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100–101).

554 . . . "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder,"
551 &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of char-
614 acter; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

114 There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

171 A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin,
174 and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also
614 states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with"
[114] fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the
[648] Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of
[551] August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.[10] Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,[11] and elsewhere.
[551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"[12] signed more

[10] See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in American Anthropologist, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327–28; cf. also Radin, the Winnebago Tribe, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, The Omaha Tribe (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

[11] Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

[12] The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his The Winnebago Tribe and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in Handbook of Ameri-

3:Michelson E-4 (no date)1935
NP12 Winnebago NP12

than one treaty with the United States. Similarly the lists of signers of the treaties of June 3rd, 1816, August 19th, 1825, etc., between the Winnebago and the United States indicate the existence of gentes not in the published lists, but which have analogues among other Siouan tribes. I feel certain that a study of the names of the signers of treaties between United States and such Siouan tribes as have distinctive clan-names (and similar non-Siouan tribes) would yield valuable results. And a study of the personal names of such tribes in older writers would also pay. In this connection I may say that from Atwater's book, using this technique, it can be readily determined that the Eagle and Elk gentes were in existence among the Winnebago in addition to those specifically mentioned by him. The treaties furnish a few others, e.g., Earth, Sky. In this connection I may say that it is clear from the names of the signers of the treaty of May 13th, 1816 that at least the following Sauk gentes were in existence: Sturgeon, Eagle, Thunder, Bear, Swan, Wolf, Fox, Partridge, Sea. It is not without interest to note that all these save Partridge and Fox are on Forsyth's list of 1827.[13] If we count Partridge as the equivalent of Grouse, all occur in Jones' list printed in the Handbook of American Indians in the article *Sauk*. Sturgeon, Swan, and Partridge are not in Skinner's list. Sturgeon, Eagle, Sea (= Great Water), Bear, Thunder, Partridge (= Pheasant), Wolf, and Fox occur in Galland's list. Wolf, Bear, Eagle, Sturgeon, Fox, Sea, and Thunder occur in Morgan's list. If we pool M. R. Harrington's two lists we find Thunder, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Swan, Sturgeon, Eagle on them. A knowledge of the names on the tribal rolls from the earliest times would doubtless shed much light on the subject.

It should be mentioned that Radin argues for a priority of village groups, but states that according to all informants each Winnebago village was inhabited by members of various clans, and that in no case did a village merely include members of the same clan. Observe the contradiction with Atwater's data.

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can Indian Languages (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, 40, Pt. 1). There are equivalents in several Siouan languages. In the Siouan sketch Radin gives kec'û'ñgegā as a personal name, "the tortoise," and ke'c'û'ñgera as "you, tortoise," and in note 38 of the Winnebago text we are told that ke'c'ûñk or kec'û'ñgē is a large species of turtles, and that kē also means "turtle." La Flesche gives ke (in my transcription) as the Osage for "turtle, tortoise, terrapin," but Dorsay gives k'e (in my transcription) for both Osage and Quapaw, but ke (in my transcription) for Omaha; k'eya, "tortoise," is given by Deloria for Dakota. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the formation of personal names in Winnebago to be positive whether ra is the pronoun "thou" (vocative; see notes 39 and 46 to Radin's Winnebago text) or whether kera may be an archaic correspondent to Dakota k'eya with the recognized shift of y to r.

[13] They are in his Fox list.

§11. *Wandering and Hunting*

After a while I used to get into the habit of going to town. When I got there I would look into the barrels to see if there was any food in them and if there was I would fill my pockets with whatsoever I found. I used to steal a great deal. [159* 685]

About springtime we always moved away from the vicinity of the town. We always moved to the place where my father intended to trap, generally to the neighborhood of some farming community where there were few Indians. There my mother used to make baskets and sell them to the farmers. We also used to circulate a written petition asking for any help people cared to give us. Whenever they went on this kind of a trip I always went along with them, for sometimes people would take pity on us and give us some old clothes. Sometimes we would even get a good meal at some farmer's house. For these reasons I was always envious of those who went along on such journeys. [159* 22 224 285 439 648]

Occasionally when we got many provisions I had to carry some of them, but I never minded that. When the birds returned north father used to make us bows and arrows and we would then shoot at them and often kill many. We also used to kill squirrels which my grandmother roasted for us. My older brother was a [223 229 252]

*159 22 [223] good shot and I was greatly his inferior. He often killed pheasants.

*159 ●648 526 Whenever the older people went to town circulating petitions for help we youngsters always went along. We always took our bows and arrows with us for the Whites wanted to see how well we could shoot. Often they placed five-cent pieces on some object at a considerable distance and had us shoot at them. We generally hit a number. I would also let my brother shoot at twenty-five cent pieces that I held between my fingers and he never hit my fingers. We would often make as much as five dollars in this way and this money we always gave to our parents.

*159 22 [131] In summer the Winnebago would return to Black River Falls (Wisconsin). We used to go out with our bows and arrows and stay out all day. At evening [861] when we returned we of course always expected to get a scolding and we therefore had a good excuse ready. It really would have been much better had we returned earlier in the day, but we were enjoying ourselves so much hunting that night overtook us when we were still a long distance from home. Often we would not eat anything at all all day, but to that we were accustomed. Sometimes we would go fishing on a stream nearby, forget all about the time, and then return home very late. We got a scolding then even although we had a good excuse.

[P.88]

§20. *I Have a Fight*

Once we went out hunting game in the fall of the year. We used to sell the hindquarters and sometimes ship them as far as Chicago. We were of course only permitted to hunt for thirty days. The law was that if any one hunted longer than that he would be arrested. Yet in spite of all we hunted for a longer time because we felt that the law was meant only for the Whites. One day, however, in shipping deer away, we were detected. One of my brothers and myself were arrested, taken to court and convicted. We had to spend sixty days in jail. During my imprisonment I never had my hair cut and from that time on, I always wore it long. I told the people that a spirit called *Foolish-one*[24] had instructed me to do this and that he had blessed me. I also told my older brother, the one who was still living, to do the same thing and that if he, too, let his hair grow, *Foolish-one* would bless him with long life. From that time on I wore long hair.

After that I joined a show of the Whites. People liked me very much on account of my long hair and I was well paid. I kept on drinking all the time. I there learned to ride a bicycle and mount and ride wild

[24] The clown of Winnebago mythology. He is, however, regarded as having some of the characteristics of a spirit and, very occasionally, blessing an individual.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 541 648 526 horses. I used to call myself a cowboy, principally because I wore my hair long. Many vicious horses did I ride, and I was thrown off many times. I did all this not because I felt myself to be an expert, but because I was wild. On one occasion I took part in a bicycle race on a regular racetrack. I was in full Indian costume and wore long hair.

*159 541 648 The show I had joined played at St. Paul. I took part in it every summer. I became acquainted with many people and so I was asked to come again every year. Finally it got so that I would not even return to the Indians in winter.

One season some one asked me to collect a number of Indians of whom I was to be in charge. I was told that I would be allowed ten dollars a week for each Indian and that I could pay them whatever I liked. I was quite satisfied, for I could pay them five dollars a week and thus make some money, I thought. I therefore persuaded a number of people to go along with me and we all started. We rode to the place where we were to meet the man who had made the arrangements. From there we started out and went from fair to fair. We never made any money, however, and went bankrupt. The man could not even pay us. We felt very angry and we then went to another show with whose manager I was acquainted. We were to divide the receipts.

Once we were to give our show at a certain place for the last time, for the cold weather was setting in. It was thus our last day. One of the boys came to me

I Have a Fight

and told me that some one had struck him. I got angry and told him to point out the person who had done it. Just then the very person appeared and I tried to strike him, but he got away. I succeeded, however, in striking him with a drumstick. That evening I was told that the man whom I had struck had said that he was going to kill a certain Indian. "Perhaps he doesn't know that he also is subject to death," I answered. "Indeed, I am anxious to get ahold of him." After the show was finished we put on our civilian clothes and took our handbags. "None of you must go out alone," I warned them, "for you might get hurt." One of my boys was on horseback and was taking his horse to water it at a trough. His pony was taken away from him and he returned without it. His hat, too, had been stolen. Indeed he barely escaped with his life. "Come, let us go back," I said. I told the other boys to go right on and not to worry about me. I gave them my handbag and then returned to the place where the first boy had been attacked. Before we got there the same boy was attacked and set upon with clubs. We were right in the midst of a big crowd of Whites. These shouted and chased him. When they saw me they started for me. I fought them with my bare fists, turning from side to side. I was completely surrounded by them. Whenever any one got near enough to me I struck him. Then I started to run and was hit on the head, but I was not knocked unconscious. I was now angry and I struck out at all within reach. If I had had a weapon

159 * 591 698 ●

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7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 579 648 I would have killed some of them. Several now fell upon me and I was struck on the head until it was entirely covered with blood. I started for the show tents which had not yet been taken down. Just then the man who had begun all the trouble came toward me with a hatchet. I went for him and when he raised the hatchet I struck him and knocked him down, for I hit him straight in the mouth.

A policeman now came forward and led me to our show tents. I was covered with blood. The women were weeping and told the policeman who I was, that it was not my fault and that I had not been drinking. I was taken to jail. I told the policeman that we ought not to be locked up for we had not started the trouble. The others ought to be locked up, we said, for it was the particular man who had hit my boy who had been drinking. "You are right," said the policeman. "I will go back and look for your things. Yet you ought not to be on the street for you have hurt many people. You had better stay in jail for a few hours for many people are on the watch for you. Now I'll go for your pony and then you can do what you like." They put me in jail and there I found the Indian about whom all the trouble had started. "Well, this is good," he said. "I thought they had killed you. Well, how many did you kill?" "I didn't kill any one," I answered. "It is good, for I thought they had either killed you or that you had killed them."

Then I washed the blood from my head. Soon after the policeman returned and brought my pony with him,

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

as well as my hat. Then he said, "You are to go home immediately. It is true that you have been dealt with unfairly, but this is a regular fair town, and if any trouble starts in the courts about this affair, it will hurt our fairs in the future. We shall therefore not go to law about it. The man who started the trouble is the owner of a large hotel, and in addition, owns a trotting horse. You have knocked out all the teeth of this hotelkeeper, and we do not know whether he will live or not. You have bruised other people, too, badly. So you had better go home."

From there we started for our home. My partner rode a pony and rode through the middle of the town on it. I went in the same direction. He was afraid to go through the crowd of white people. A policeman escorted us out to the edge of the town. There we told him that we wanted some whisky and he went into a saloon and bought us two quarts. We both started then, sitting on a small two-year-old pony that belonged to my partner. Every time a team drove by we got frightened. After we had been drinking a little, however, we said that if the fight were to occur again, we would surely kill some one for we were sorry about the way in which it had ended. No one pursued us, however.

There were some Indians living in the neighborhood and we used to go to visit them every night. When I told them about what had happened they got quite frightened for they thought these white people would come out there to fight. So they moved away on the

*159
●648 following morning. The other man and I took up their trail and followed. We still rode the little pony together. We had plenty of whisky with us. At night we came upon their camps. These poor people were really trying to get away from us for they thought that the white people would really follow us and fight.

There I found out that my relatives were camping nearby, so I went over to see them. They felt very sorry for us when we told them what had happened. They were working at the time, digging potatoes. I stayed with them at the house of a certain woman.

We Kill a Pottawattomie

you to do this. Of your own initiative you could not possibly have done it. However, we had better not have a Victory Dance as yet. We have the honor anyhow. We must be careful about the Whites. In the old days we were at liberty to live in our own way, and when such a deed as yours became known, your sisters would rejoice and dance, we are told. Now, however, the law of the Whites is to be feared. In due time you will get a chance to announce your feat and then you can wear a head ornament for you have earned that right for yourself."

159* 921 [727] [648] [554]

[P. 151]

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*[159] [588] [203] [604] was over. Indeed, I even got married there. I kept on drinking all the time. It was then that a nephew of mine begged me to give him my buggy. A nephew has the privilege of asking his uncle for anything, and the uncle must give it. In return the uncle can compel the nephew to work for him at any time.

Some time after that I went to visit an uncle of mine. He said, "Nephew, to-morrow they are going to have a Medicine Dance, and to-night they are going to have a trial performance.[28] Your aunt is going to buy provisions for the meal, and you may go along with her." So I went along. When we got to town we drank, and on the following day it was rumored that the woman and myself were missing. The buggy in which we were riding was quite broken, my hat was gone, and my trousers ripped open. I immediately went back to the place I had come from, even though the Medicine Dance was being given. The woman, I heard, was still missing. I then went to the place at which I had been staying, and remained there all day. I got very tired. In the morning I mounted a horse and went to town. There I was arrested. I was asked what I was doing in the town. "I am not doing anything; I am merely visiting around." Then the one in charge of the law said that I was to pay ten dollars and that if I did not do so, he would send me to prison. I therefore sold my horse for twenty dollars, and out of it I paid the ten

●[C98]

[D96] [28] The first part of the regular Medicine Dance is supposed to be merely a rehearsal for the following day when the main ceremony is given and is in consequence called the "trial" performance.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Take a Trip to Nebraska

dollars. It was a good horse. Then the lawyer said, 159 *
"You have committed many crimes, and you had bet- [648]
ter go to the place from which you came. If you
stay here any longer, we will lock you up."

I left that same day. Two old men were going to
Wisconsin, and I went with them. They did not know [191]
how to speak English, so they took me as their inter-
preter. I left one of my horses in the pasture there.
These men were very fond of whisky, and I bought [213]
whisky for them all along the route. After a time we
arrived in Wisconsin, just at the cranberry-picking sea- [222]
son. I was drunk when we reached our destination.
As we approached my home I told the old men that
they should come and visit me. As I said it, I gave a
whoop.

[P. 155]

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§26. *I Am Arrested for Murder and Confess*

Two years elapsed. At about that time we heard 159* 648 ●
that the men who were responsible for the disappearance of the Pottawattomie had been discovered. One of those who had taken part in his murder had been to Nebraska and had there announced his deed in recounting his acts of bravery at a Warrior Dance. Such [727]
was the rumor. This same man had also announced it at a funeral wake. It was in this way that the facts had come out.

That same winter, while I was living in the forest [201]
cutting wood, two men came to me one night. They were officers. They mentioned a man's name to me and asked me if I knew him. I said, "Yes." "Well," said they, "let us go to town. We want to ask you some things." They told me to get ready. I did so and rode in a wagon they possessed. Then the men asked me, "Did Peter kill this man? Do you know?" "I do not know," I said to them. Then they told me from what source they had obtained the information and again asked me, "Did you ever hear anything about it?" "No," I answered. "Did you know that this man was missing?" "I did hear that a man had been missing, but as I had not known him, I did not give the matter much thought," I said to them. Then

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

* 159
● 648 one of the men said, "It has been discovered that Peter did it. Do you think that they are right?" "I don't believe a word of it." Then the man continued, "If you continue to say that you do not know anything about this case, I will not let you go home. You shall go wherever Peter goes. We have found out that you were with him, and that is why we have come here. If you do not tell us, you will never come out of prison. Such is the penalty for what you have done. If you tell us, however, you can get away and you will be our witness and can return home." "I want to get home, and whatever I can do to get home, I'll do. About this matter, however, I know nothing. You can speak about what you know and I about what I know. I do not want to be locked up," I said.

We had now come to town. There I was taken to a hotel and asked if I knew the murdered man's brother. I said, "Yes." We went inside, and there we found him. The man greeted me and said, "If you know anything about this affair and confess, we will not lock you up. You will be one of the witnesses. Even if it should turn out that you were one of them, we will not lock you up. I am not deceiving you. This man who is listening to us agrees with me." He continued: "Sam, I am acquainted with your father. He is a fine old man. Even if you were along with Peter, I will not have you locked up, if you confess. It is merely because Peter is a bad man that I want to know it." "He must be telling the truth," said I to myself. "I'm going to tell." I thought that in such a case they would

7:Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

let me go. So I said: "Yes, I know all about it. I saw Peter when he killed the man." "Good," said they. They thanked me. Then the officer took me outside; he took me to jail and said, "The train will soon be ready." Then he went out. 159* 648 ●

In the jail I found Peter. "What did they say to you?" he asked. "They did not say anything," I said. "They asked me many questions," said Peter. "They asked me whether you had done it, and they said that if I told them, they would let me go home. I told them, however, that I did not know anything." "They asked me very much the same." I then said, "but I also told them that I did not know anything." "That is good, for without witnesses they have only hearsay evidence and they will not be able to hold us," said Peter. "Anyhow, the man we killed was crazy and his brothers hated him. They used to ask me to kill him," continued Peter.

Just then the officer came and said, "Boys, the train is due soon Get ready." When we were ready he took out some handcuffs and tied us together, and thus we went to the station. The white people looked at us in surprise, called out our names, and asked what the trouble was. Then the train arrived, and we boarded it. We rode all that night and arrived at our destination in the morning. There the officer locked us up in prison. We did not know what to say. After a time I was taken out and brought to the courthouse. There they again questioned me, and a woman, a shorthand writer, took down my answers. I was then told to tell

7: Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 ● 648 everything again in detail and that as soon as the time for the trial came, I would be freed. When I was through, they took me back and locked me up again, and the other man was taken out. When he returned, he had of course learned what I had done. He was very quiet. Then I said, "Well, you said you were [C8D] asked to kill him and you also said that they, the brothers of the murdered man, asked others to kill him. If that is so, you did it because you were asked to do so, and you are not to blame. If we can find other witnesses to this fact, we will surely get out." "Indeed, I spoke about the matter because they had locked us up alone. I did not like it. The boys were so boisterous that I thought the others ought to be in jail, too. That is what I was thinking of when I spoke to the officers. Soon they will bring these others here, too, and when we are all here together, it will not be so lonesome." Peter was glad of it. Soon the other two were brought, and the four of us made quite a good deal of noise talking.

[P.162]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§28. *Our Prison Life and the Trial*

We were waiting for the spring term of the court. We stayed in prison all winter. I was very tired of it, but I kept that secret because otherwise the other men would be likely to make fun of me. Sometimes I really felt like crying, but I acted as though I did not care at all. I was married at the time I had been imprisoned, and I hungered to see my wife and was in a terrible condition, but I told the others that I did not care in the least. The others were also married, and some of them showed their lonesomeness markedly. Occasionally one of our wives would visit us. The men said that I seemed the only one who did not apparently care. As a matter of fact, of course, I could hardly stand it, although I kept my condition quite secret. I only felt better when I wrote a letter to my wife, and then when she answered I felt very happy.

We used to read one another's letters, and whenever our wives wrote to us, we would tease one another about the contents.

After a while the spring term of the court arrived, and we were happy. When the time for our trial came, however, we were told that our case had been bound over to the fall term. So we had to stay in prison all summer. When the fall term came, the case was bound

* 159 over until the following spring. It was enough to cause
● 648 one to say "Oh, my!" in impatience. During the win-
[531] ter we used to make bead work and compete with one
[301] another as to who could do the best. We made beaded
finger-rings, and these were always purchased by some
[432] one. By selling these rings we thus made quite a good
deal of money. We also made suspenders. I made
thirty of them and sold them for seven dollars a pair.
We thus had plenty of money and drank all the time.
There were some prisoners locked up together with us
whose terms were almost over, and these were allowed
to go outside. They would buy us the whisky. We
[525] gambled, too, playing for money stakes.

One day my wife came to visit me. I talked to her through the iron grating. I was allowed to talk to her for a long time. All I could do was to desire her. I
[152] wanted her badly. When the wives of the others came, they felt just as I did.

[578] Once we had a fight. We had been drinking and
[273] were disputing about a game. Afterwards we were quite humble about it.

* 159 Shortly after this we found out that my wife had
152 married again. I did not feel like eating, but I tried
648 hard to do so, because I thought that the others would
837 notice it. Then I said to them, "I am glad to hear about this report that my wife has married again. When I get out of prison I will pay the one who has married her, for he is taking care of her until my release. Indeed I have felt quite uneasy about her for some time. Now I feel quite relieved, for she is being

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provided for." Thus I spoke. But the truth of it was that I was as angry as I could very well be. I made up my mind that I would take her away from whomsoever she might be living with. Then I thought that I would make her feel as sad as I could; I thought I would disfigure her, cut off her nose, then take her to the wilderness, give her a sound beating, and leave her there. I could not think of anything else all the time, and I believe that for a time I did not even taste food. I often felt like crying. At night I would not be able to sleep, for I could not forget the whole affair. Sometimes I would dream of seeing her, and then in the morning I would tell the others about it and feel better. Throughout all this time I never thought of all those of my relatives who were really concerned for me. Not even that grateful was I. I only thought of the woman.

Now the time for the next session of the court had arrived. It was the spring session. We were given a trial. They always took us to the court in handcuffs. We had each a lawyer. At the first hearing one of us was freed, the other three remaining in prison. Then the lawyers pleaded the case of the others, and two more were freed, I being one of these. The man who had actually done the killing was the only one who remained in prison.

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